40: Kirk--25-26 S-2 (no date) 1941 Formosans-1-2
116, 561, 575, 658, 883, 177.88 Japanese

"Youth movements. The Japanese are laying great stress upon the various youth movements which are actively sponsored in Taiwan by the Government General and the local provincial governments. There are young men's associations, young women's associations, and Boy Scouts. These organizations aim to

> train and drill youth spiritually and physically to inculcate loyalty, to improve character as loyal subjects, to instill a spirit of public service, to encourage self-help, self-control and initiative, to increase knowledge and skill necessary for practical life, to encourage diligence and thrift, and to improve general health conditions of the nation.

The specific purpose of the young women's association (Joshi Seinen Dan), especially among Formosan Chinese, is 'to encourage and propagate the use of the national language, to inculcate female virtue, to educate women in housekeeping, to improve home-life, to cultivate sentiments through recreation, to improve health conditions, and thus to train women in sound womanhood.' The young woman's movements, however, are far less active than the men's associations. The local territory covered by each association corresponds to a public school district. Young people under 20 yea- of age

who are graduates of [26] public schools may join the youth movement. The young Formosan Chinese members are particularly interested in spreading the use of the Japanese language and in raising the Formosan standards of living. The young men are called upon to assist the police in traffic control during celebrations, to serve on watch duty or to run errands, and even to do hard manual labor, on occasion, when additional workers are needed.

The geographical position of Formosa and the ethnic factors in the overwhelming non-Japanese population are largely responsible for the determined drive of the Imperial government to assimilate the Formosans as speedily as possible."

596 usually bringing their wives and children with them. The proportion of nuclear families has increased with urbanization and industrialization in the past twenty years.

2. Folk Associations

Various Folk Associations: In the 575 pre-modern village community co-operation for mutual aid in making a living was essential, and there were many kinds of associations in response to various social needs. Hitherto specialists on Formosa have focused their attention mainly upon village and family. In fact, folk society attained a fairly high degree of development, and it was much too complex to be managed by blood and locality groups alone. Institutions of social cohesion based on social function or social need was in evidence, and these we will designate as folk associations.

625 There were various associations for the protection of agricultural work. When crops and vegetables were still young or almost ripe, they had to be protected from damage by cattle, hogs or chickens. Usually an association was organized to take care of this. Special persons were appointed to watch over the fields. Every household was notified not to let its animals out, and if any one violated the regulation, he was punished by the association. There were associations for the regulation of

625 cutting lumber in the woods owned in common by the village and associations for the protection of fruits, bamboo sprouts, etc. from theft. These were the so-called agricultural protective associations. In the season between the two harvests, at the end of the year or before the next crop was ripe, there were petty grain thefts. For the prevention of these, an assocaition of night watchmen was organized. A person from each household was requisitioned and the group was divided into several small bands which stood watch by turns. To prevent attack by aborigines or bandits, a self-protecting association was organized. All adult males in the village, except the old people, participated in it, and in the time free from work, they trained themselves with various weapons. The need for the regulation of such local group activity was essential and constant. As a result, this kind of association was deeply rooted among the village people in Formosa. Many public works, such as repairing roads, bridges, drainage or irrigation canals, etc. were often managed by these associations and sometimes they constituted an embryonic village government.

• 575 There were other kinds of associations. A buffalo-keeping association collectively watched the buffalos of each household. It was a kind of co-operative. There were associations for mutual aid for burial in case

45:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AD1 Formosa
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• 575 of the death of parents. This was a kind of mutual insurance. The association for mutual financial aid, called "hui," was a kind of temporary credit union.

438 361 Set-up of Towns and Cities: Although the life of farmers was highly self-sufficient, they had to exchange some of their products for agricultural implements and other daily necessities. In response to this necessity towns sprang up in the midst of this agrarian society. As will be seen from a map, Formosa has a fairly even distribution of towns along the western plain. The longest distance between two towns or villages in the plains area is under 10 miles; a distance of 6 miles is most common. This means that each individual lives with 5 miles or less of some town or village, and in one day or less can walk to the village center and back home. In other words, even though he walks, every farmer can sell his products and buy his daily necessities at some town or village between sunrise and sunset. Among the small towns and villages there are larger towns, and among larger towns there is an occasional city as a local center. On the whole, there is a systematic distribution of cities, towns, and villages. Obviously this was the result of natural growth in an agrarian society. After the Japanese occupation there were newly developed mining towns, fishing ports, sugar plantation towns, railway and

441 Timber-dealer Street, Bamboo Street, Bamboo-splintsmaker Street, Stone-cutter Street, Coir palm treating Street, etc. These are much the same as the Bread Street, Milk Street, Fish Street, Honey Lane, etc. of medieval London or the Schustergusse, Gerbergasse, Webergasse, etc. in the medieval German city. The same condition can be found in other old Formosan cities, such as Lukang and Changhua.

442 Besides these merchant-guilds there were guilds of wholesale merchants who traded with the mainland or other ports of the island. Tainan had three such guilds: (1) the North Guild, which traded with North China, and had more than 20 member stores; (2) the South Guild, which traded with South China and had more than 30 member stores; (3) the Port Guild, which traded with other ports of Formosa, and had more than 50 member stores. They all had a shrine as the center of their activities. They participated in public affairs of the city and carried on social welfare activities. In time of disturbance, they contributed money to the government, and volunteered in defense work. An area of Taipei city, Tataoting, was originally constructed by an influencial guild.

•575 There were still other kinds of associations in the cities. Among the upper classes, there were associations for the

575 promotion of education, for moral culture, for music, drama, and literary activities. Various kinds of secret societies and fraternities also existed.

4. The number and types of Associations: As folk associations are essential for the life of the people in folk society, we can expect that there were numerous such associations in agrarian Formosa. Some data exist which wil enable us to make an estimate. The Japanese colonial government made a survey of religion from 1915 to 1918, and the result was published in 1919, as "The Report of the Survey of Religion in Taiwan", Vol. 1. According to this report there was 6,159 associations with 291,161 members.[3] Since informal associations are hard to identify and may not have been recorded, the actual number is likely to be larger than the reported figure.

454 The above figure did not include the associations for mutual financial aid (the hui). According to a survey by the Japanese in 1922, there were 2,055 hui with 24,428 members in Taipei prefecture, 145 hui with 1,720 members in Taichung prefecture. They estimated the number in other prefectures of the island to be 2,200 hui with 26,138 members.

3. Table 27.

454 Thus there was a total of 4,400 hui with 52,286 members in Formosa.[4] If we add these figures to the above, there were 10,569 associations with 343,447 members around 1922. The Formosan population in 1922 (excluding Japanese) was about 3.7 millions, so more than 9 per cent participated in some association. Since this 9 per cent represents adult members of each household, it is evident that a substantiat proportion of households in Formosa participated in associations.

575 All folk associations retained some religious character, so the Japanese treated them all as religious associations. In fact they were organized for a great variety of purposes. In "The Report of the Survey of Religion in Taiwan," eight kinds of associations are enumerated:[5]

4. Chen Yunghu: "The business of Ho-huei in Taiwan," The Quarterly of the Bank of Taiwan, Vol. V. No. 4, 1953, p. 123.
5. Table 23, p. 129.

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• 515

Kind of Associations	No. of Associations
1. Associations to help the education of kinsmen	160
2. Associations for public construction and relief	6
3. Associations organized by the people of the same trade	1,685
4. Associations organized by the people of the same town of origin	890
5. Associations organized by the people living in the same village or town	1,851
6. Associations organized by the people of the same surname (that is associations of kinsmen)	1,077
7. Associations organized by the people of the same hobby	30
8. Other associations	460
Total	6,159

• 575 The number of members of each association ranged from a few persons to more than one thousand. Out of 6,159 associations 4,859 (that is 78.7%) numbered between 6 and 50 persons. Almost half of the total number of associations had between 11 and 30 members. A membership between 11 and 20 seems most common; there were 1,865 (that is, nearly 30% of the total) associations of this kind.

More than three quarters of the associations were founded between 1760-1895. This was due to rapid population growth in those years. Some of the associations owned property. Farms owned by them exceeded 7 thousand chia (16,800 acres), and cash owned by them amounted to 217,601 yen. The associations which had financial means were generally more influential.

5. Gradual decline of Folk Associations: Folk associations were organized in response to the needs of an agrarian society. Up until the early years of Japanese rule, folk associations were very important. The new rulers realized this fact, and so far as these associatiions did not militate against or disturb the Japanese rule, they were allowed to continue. As peace and order were maintained and conditions of sanitation, agriculture and education were improved, the need for folk associations gradually diminished. Their

575 number began to decline. Some associations disappeared, some remained in name only. Some associations with properties were troubled by disputes among their members.

B. Under the Japanese Rule

656 Strength arises from unification. The
575 new rulers of Formosa in general looked with disfavor on associations of the Formosan people, with the exception of those which facilitated their administration.

From the political point of view there were two categories of associations: those promoted or approved by the Japanese government, and those voluntarily organized by the Formosans and not welcomed by the government. Among the former were: (1) industrial and occupational associations; (2) associations for educational and social development; and (3) social clubs, philanthropic and religious associations.

Many associations were sponsored and controlled by the government, often with government officials as their directors, and had their offices in government buildings. In fact there were auxiliary agencies for administration, and were not voluntary associations of the people. Most associations for the promotion of production belonged to this type. For example, associations of farmers

were called "Agricultural Associations". It was not an association of farmers for co-operation and improvement of agriculture. Participation was compulsory, membership fees were collected along with taxes, and farmers received only instruction and supervision. Associations for animal husbandry, for fishing, for forestry and irrigation were similar in nature. Co-operatives for fruit growers (banana, citrus fruits, etc.), associations of various trades, chambers of commerce were more autonomous, but government control and supervision were always in evidence. There were various kinds of occupational and professional associations for physicians, lawyers, teachers, etc., and though the Formosan people were allowed to join them as members, they were all controlled by the Japanese.

Associations for educational and social development were also numerous. There were parent-teacher associations called "father and elder brothers" association to help school education. There were householders' associations and housewives' associations to promote adult education. In addition there were youth associations, girls' associations and boy scouts for young people. Community Development Association, Landlord-Tenants Associations, Sanitary Associations, Athletic Associations, the Red Cross, Patriotic Women's Associations, Association for the Improvement of Living, Associations for the

656 575 Reformation of Bad Habits and Customs (such as prostitutes and drinking), etc. are further examples of this type. Many of these associations were organized under government encouragement in response to the new situation after the 1920's in order to distract the awakening Formosans who were grumbling against colonialism.

Social clubs for hobbies, recreational, literary artistic and cultural activities were organized freely by the Japanese. A selected number of Formosans were permitted to join these clubs. Philanthropic agencies had existed since the Manchu era. Some of them were reorganized and new agencies were added during the Japanese era. Religious groups with the exception of Christian minors, were less active.

Voluntary Associations of the Formosans

668 As folk associations waned with the change of social life after World War I, the Formosan people began to form their own voluntary associations of a modern type.

1. Political Associations

After World War I the spirit of democracy permeated the whole world. In Japan serious problems appeared and democratic and socialistic movements became widespread.

467 Japan started its invasion into North China, even the conservative and harmless Taiwan League for Local Self-Government was ordered disbanded by the government.

III. SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AFTER THE RESTORATION

575 Since the restoration of Formosa to China in 1945, the people have been free to form associations of various kinds, provided these associations do no conflict with the anti-Communist policy of the government. Many new organizations have come into being. In the village, the traditional folk associations for religion and for mutual financial aid still exist. Most of the associations established during the Japanese period have been reorganized, with Chinese members replacing the Japanese and the Chinese government assuming control formerly in the hands of the Japanese colonial government. All associations are registered with the Provincial Department of Social Affairs, which supervises their activities. An association may be dissolved or may be compelled to re-elect its officers if found guilty of violating national laws or ordinances.[6]

For administrative purposes, associations

6. In 1953, 247 organizations were ordered to re-elect their officers, 9 to be reorganized, 8 to suspend their activities, and 1 to be dispersed. Chung-hua Min-kuo Nien-chien

(continued next page)

575 on Formosa are divided into (1) farmers' asscciations, (2) labor unions, (3) fishermen's associations, (4) trade associations, (5) professional groups, (6) social groups, and (7) co-operatives. Most of the associations are organized on a local basis and are generally patterned after the governmental administration, that is, directives and rulings are made at a single headquarter and disseminated to lower groups. A provincial organization establishes its branches in hsien and municipalities; the latter in turn organize sub-branches in towns and villages. Some associations have a national organization, which expects to extend its activities when the Mainland is regained.

474 The Farmers' Association was first organized thirty years ago for the express purpose of protecting the rights of the farmers. Very often it came into conflict with the Japanese administration, which finally ordered its dissolution and replaced it with the Agricultural Association, a quasi-government agency. The activities of the Agricultural Association were confined to the promotion of agricultural production. In 1949, the

6. (continued) [Yearbook of the Republic of China], 1954, Taipei, p. 730.